4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three men Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Sosoiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (*sikiroinet*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *fama*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndoroton she stayed with women there who, when they came to Sosoiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *tilil*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-clansmen. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):—

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokuonya	Kokuonga	60
Ulugum	Nuwuugum	60
Lutwaim	Lutwaim	60

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokuonga (north of Kamoon). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Ulugum and the Lutwaim are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no official deliveries, as among the Lalwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl.

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Lalwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Lalwor.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown.

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Lalwor practice in this respect is not followed.

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

[P.190,1]

Although by relationship all these brothers are theoretically equals, as being brothers, yet by reason of their age-grouping different age-sets are found in all three families, with the result that Kimisi and Kipkutik are socially inferior to their brothers Kiptanui, Kesimo, and Kipet, Kipor; while Leina, Kipilat, and Kipkeino are all inferior to Leteipa. So long as they were small this did not matter, but when they reached puberty, the inferiority of their status became noticeable in such things as exclusion from all sexual matters, and is reflected in the general idea that "So and so is only a child, and he must not expect to do the grown-up things that we are allowed to do." The same will apply to the next generation. 561 602 [858]

The general principles of Dorobo behaviour may be summarised thus (from the standpoint of "ego"): 602

To the 3rd and 2nd ascending generations: care and respect.

To the 1st ascending generation: respect, obedience (and care when old). Easy and familiar intercourse, but no loose talk or bad language.

To his own generation: considerable latitude is allowed between members of the same generation: obscene talk and jests, discussion of sexual matters and so forth are tolerated, though of course such talk must not become acts. The idea of mutual help and support, which is accorded by all to their parents and grandparents (when these are still alive) is more emphasised in the interrelations of those of the same generation.

To the 1st descending generation: all members of this are treated much as ego treats his own children (and this applies more or less to the 2nd descending generation). In this category are also included those members of one's own generation, e.g. younger brother, who belong to a junior age-set.

To affinals: wife's mother must be avoided, both indoors and out, and must not be spoken to; if met on a road, a man must get off the the road out of her sight. The wife's father need not be avoided, and 606

/241 cont./

V.

C00 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people [825] say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 431 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.